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THE
PREROGATIVE
OF
PRIMOGENITURE.

S H E W I N G

That the Right of Succession to an Hereditary Empire, depends not upon *GRACE*, &c. but only upon *BIRTH-RIGHT*. And, that the chief Cause of all, or most Rebellions in Christendom, is a *Papistical* and *Fanatical* Belief, That *Temporal Dominion* is founded on *Grace*.

W R I T T E N

On Occasion of the *CZAR* of *Muscovy*'s Reasons in His late *MANIFESTO* for the Disinheritance of his Eldest Son, from the Succession to the Crown.

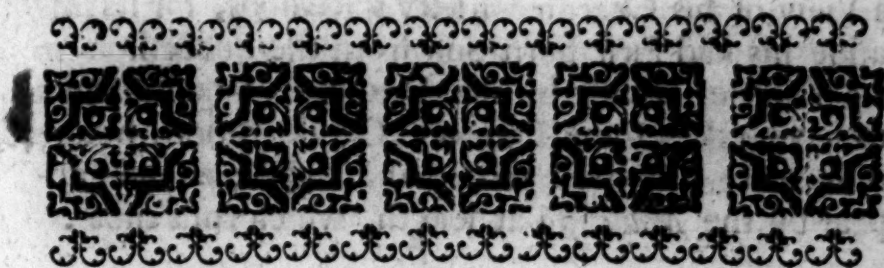
To which is added,
The *MANIFESTO* it self.



L O N D O N :

Printed for *W. Boreham*, at the *Angel* in *Pater-noster-Row*; and Sold by the Booksellers, 1718.

(Price Six-pence.)



THE
PREROGATIVE
OF
Primogeniture, &c.



The INTRODUCTION.

THE Solemnity which the Czar of *Muscovy* has made Use of at the Disherison of his Eldest Son ; the Publick Renunciation of his Birth-Right, which that unhappy Prince has been forc'd to make ; and the Notification of this Procedure given to all the Courts of *Europe* by this Arbitrary Monarchs Order, are such unprecedented Examples of a Power which seems to have no bounds to it ; that it may not be amiss to examine into the Legality of his Majesty's Conduct, as a *King*, a *Father*, and One that holds his *Crown* by Right of *Inheritance*.

In order to this, We are in the first Place to take a View of his Czarish Majesty's Reasons, for setting aside his said First born Son from the Succession to his Throne, which by the Draught of them, seem to have taken some Time and Consideration, before they were admitted to see the Light ; as will appear by the *Manifesto* at length, which runs thus :

The Czar's MANIFESTO, translated from that sent to Prince Kurakin in the Russian Language.

WE, Peter I. by the Grace of God, Czar and Autokrator (or Emperor) of all *Russia, &c. &c. &c.* make known to all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical, as Military and Civil, of all the Territories of the *Russian* Nation, our faithful Subjects.

It is notorious, and known to most of our faithful Subjects, especially those who live in the Places of our Residence, or are in our Service, how much Care and Application we have bestow'd upon the Education of our Eldest Son *Alexei*, (or *Alexander*) having appointed him for that purpose, from his Infancy, Preceptors to instruct him in the *Russian* and Foreign Languages, and in all Arts and Sciences, in order to bring him up, not only in our Christian and Orthodox Faith of the *Greek* Confession, but also in the Knowledge of Political and Military Affairs, and likewise of the Constitutions of Foreign Countries, their Customs and Languages ; that by the Reading of Histories, and Books in all Faculties, becoming a Prince of his high Rank, he might acquire the Qualifications worthy of our Throne of Great *Russia*.

Nevertheless we have seen with Grief, that all our Care and Attention for the Education and Instruction of our Son, have prov'd ineffectual ; seeing he hath

hath always swerved from his Filial Obedience, shewing no Inclination for what was becoming a worthy Successor, and slighting the Precepts of the Masters we had given him; but on the contrary, frequenting disorderly Persons, of whom he could learn nothing good, or that could be advantageous and useful to him.

We have not neglected to endeavour often to reclaim him and bring him back to his Duty, sometimes by Caresses and gentle Means, sometimes by Reprimands, and sometimes by Paternal Corrections.

We have more than once taken him along with us into the Field, to cause him to be instructed in the Art of War, as one of the chiefest Sciences for the Defence of his Country, always taking Care to keep him remote from Danger, and preserving his Person out of regard to the Succession, tho' we exposed our own Person upon all Occasions.

We have at other times left him at *Moscow*, putting into his Hands a Sort of Regency in the Empire, in order to form him in the Art of Government, and that he might learn how to Reign after us.

We have afterwards sent him into Foreign Countries, in expectation, that seeing in his Travels Governments so well regulated, this would excite in him some Emulation, and an Inclination to apply himself to do well.

But all our Care hath been fruitless, and, like the Seed in the Gospel, fallen upon a Rock.

For he hath not only refused to follow what is good, but is even come to hate it, without ever shewing the least Inclination either for Military or Political Affairs: He only, and continually conversed with base and disorderly Persons, whose Morals were rude and abominable.

As we were resolv'd to endeavour by all imaginable Means to reclaim him from that disorderly Course, and inspire him with an Inclination
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to converse with Persons of Virtue and Honour, we exhorted him to choose a Consort among the Princesses of the chief foreign Houses, as is usual in other Countries, and hath been practis'd by our own Ancestors, the Czars of *Russia*, who have contracted Alliances by Marriage with other Sovereign Houses ; and we left him at full Liberty to make a Choice.

He declar'd himself for the Princess, Grand-Daughter to the Duke of *Wolfembuitle* then Reigning, Sister-in-Law to his Majesty the Emperor of the *Romans* now reigning ; and Cousin to the King of *England* ; and having desired us to procure him that Alliance, and to permit him to marry that Princess, we readily consented thereto, without any regard to the great Expence which was necessarily occasion'd by that Marriage. But after its Consummation, we found ourself disappointed of the Hopes we had, that the Change of our Son's Condition would produce good Fruit, and a Change in his evil Habits ; but found quite the Reverse of what we expected.

For, notwithstanding his Consort was, as far as we could observe, a prudent, sprightly Princess, and of a virtuous Conduct, and that he had himself made that Choice, he yet liv'd with her in the greatest Dis-union, while he redoubled his Affection for lewd People, bringing thereby a Disgrace upon our House, before the Foreign Princes, to whom that Princess was related, which drew upon us many Complaints and Reproaches.

As frequent as our Advice and Exhortations were to reclaim him, Nothing would do it.

On the contrary, violating at last the Conjugal Faith, he gave all his Affection to a Prostitute of the most servile and low Condition, living
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publickly in that Crime with her, to the great Contempt of his Lawful Consort, who soon after died of Sickneſs indeed, but it was believ'd that her Grief, occaſion'd by the diſorderly Life of her Husband, haſten'd the End of her Days.

When we ſaw his Reſolution to perſevere in his vicious Courſe, we declar'd to him at the Funeral of his Consort, that if he did not for the Future conform himſelf to our Will, and apply himſelf to Things becoming a Prince, Preſumptive Heir to ſo great an Empire, we would deprive him of the Succeſſion, without any regard to his being our only Son, (our ſecond Son was not then born) and that he ought not to rely upon his being ſo, becauſe we would rather chooſe for our Succeſſor a Stranger worthy thereof, than an unworthy Son; that we could not leave our Empire to ſuch a Succeſſor, who would ruin and deſtroy what the Father hath, by God's Aſſiſtance, eſtabliſh'd; and tarniſh the Glory and Honour of the *Ruſſian* Nation, for the acquiring of which we had ſacrificed our Eaſe and our Health, willingly expoſing our own Life on ſeveral Occaſions; Beſides that, the Fear of God's Judgments would not permit us to leave the Government of ſuch vaſt Territories in the Hands of one, whoſe Inſufficiency and Unworthyness we were not ignorant of.

In ſhort, we have exhorted him, in the moſt preſſing Terms we could make uſe of, to behave himſelf with Diſcretion, and gave him Time to repent and return to his Duty.

His Answer to theſe Remonſtrances was, that he acknowledg'd himſelf guilty in all theſe Points; but alledging the Weakneſs of his Parts and Genius, which did not permit him to apply himſelf to the Sciences and other Functions recommended to him, he own'd himſelf uncapable and unworthy
of

of our Succession, desiring us to discharge him from the same.

Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with a Paternal Affection, and joining Menaces to our Exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back to the right Way; and the Operations of War having oblig'd us to repair to *Denmark*, we left him at *Petersburg*, to give him time to return to his Duty, and mend his Ways.

And afterwards upon the repeated Advices we receiv'd of the Continuation of his disorderly Life, we sent him Orders to come to us at *Copenhagen* to make the Campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself.

But forgetting the Fear and Commandments of God, who enjoyns Obedience even to Private Parents, and much more to those who are at the same time Sovereigns, our Paternal Cares had no other Return, than an unheard of Ingratitude; for, instead of coming to us, as he was order'd, he withdrew, taking along with him great Sums of Money, and his infamous Concubine, with whom he continued to live in a criminal Course. He put himself under the Protection of the Emperor, raising against us, his Father and his Lord, a world of Calumnies and false Reports, as if we did persecute him, and intended, without Cause to deprive him of our Succession; alledging moreover, that even his Life was not safe, if he continued with us, and desiring the Emperor not only to give him Refuge in his Dominions, but also to protect him against us by Force of Arms.

Every one may judge what Shame and Dishonour this Conduct of our Son hath drawn upon us and our Empire in the Face of the World. The like Instance is hardly to be found in History.

The Emperor, tho' inform'd of his Excesses, and how he had liv'd with his Consort, Sister-in Law to his

his Imperial Majesty, thought fit, however, upon his pressing Instances to appoint a Place where he might reside ; and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that we might not come to the Knowledge of it.

Mean while, his long Stay having made us fear, out of a tender and fatherly Affection, that some Misfortune had befallen him, we sent Persons several Ways to endeavour to get Intelligence of him ; and after a great deal of Trouble, we were at last inform'd by the Captain of our Guard, *Alexander Ruemanzoff*, that he was privately kept in an Imperial Fortress in *Tyrol* : Whereupon we wrote a Letter with our own Hand to the Emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us. But notwithstanding, the Emperor acquainted him with our Demand, and exhorted him to return to us, and submit to our Will, as being his Father, and Lord ; yet he alledg'd, with a great many Calumnies against us, that he ought not to be deliver'd into our Hands, as if we had been his Enemy, and a Tyrant from whom he had nothing to expect but Death.

In short, he persuaded his Imperial Majesty, instead of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to some remote Place in his Dominions, namely to *Naples* in *Italy*, and keep him there secretly in the Castle, under a borrow'd Name.

Nevertheless, we had Notice from our said Captain of the Place where he was, and thereupon dispatch'd to the Emperor our Privy-Counsellor *Peter Tolstoy*, and the Captain of our Guard *Ruemanzoff* aforesaid, with a most pressing Letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain our Son, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane ; according to which, private Parents, and with much more Reason those who are beside invested with a Sovereign Authority, as we are, have an unlimited Power

over their Children, independently of any other Judge. And we set forth, on one side, the just and affectionate Manner with which we had always used our Son ; and on the other, his Disobedience ; representing in the Conclusion, the ill Consequences and Animosities the Refusal of delivering up our said Son to us might occasion, because we could not leave this Affair in that Condition. We ordered, at the same Time, those we sent with that Letter, to make verbal Representations even in more pressing Terms, and to declare, that we should be obliged to revenge, by all possible Means, such detaining of our Son.

We wrote likewise to him a Letter with our own Hand, to represent to him, the Horror and Impiety of his Conduct, and the Enormity of the Crime he had committed against us, his Father, and how God threatned in his Laws to punish Disobedient Children with eternal Death.

We threatned him, as a Father, with our Curse, and, as his Lord, to declare him a Traytor to his Country, unless he returned and obeyed our Commands ; and gave him Assurances, that if he did as we desired, and returned, we would pardon his Crime.

Our Envoys, after many Solicitations, and the abovesaid Representation made by us in Writing, and by them by Word of Mouth, at last obtain'd Leave of the Emperor to go and speak to our Son, in order to dispose him to return home.

The Imperial Ministers gave them, at the same time, to understand, that our Son had informed the Emperor, that we persecuted him, and that his Life was not safe with us, whereby he had moved the Emperor's Compassion, and induced him to take him into his Protection ; but that the Emperor taking now into his Consideration our true and solid Representations, he would give Orders to endeavour

your by all possible Means to dispose him to return to us, and would moreover declare to him, that he could not in Justice and Equity refuse to deliver him up to his Father, and fall out with us upon that Account.

Our Envoys, upon their Arrival at *Naples*, having desired to deliver to him our Letter, written with our own Hand, sent us Word, that he did not only refuse to admit them, but that the Emperor's Viceroy had found means, by inviting him home to his House, to present them to him afterwards, much against his Will.

He did then indeed receive our Letter, containing our Paternal Exhortation, and threatening our Curse, but without shewing the least Inclination to return; alledging still a great many Falsities and Calumnies against us, as if, by Reason of several Dangers he had to apprehend from us, he could not, nor would not return; and boasting, that the Emperor had promis'd him not only to defend and protect him against us, but even to set him upon the Throne of *Russia* against our Will, by Force of Arms.

Our Envoys perceiving this evil Disposition, try'd all imaginable Ways to prevail with him to return: They intreated him; they expatiated, by turns upon the Graciousness of our Assurance toward him, and upon our Threats in case of Disobedience, and that we would even bring him away by Force of Arms: They declared to him, that the Emperor would not enter into a War with us upon his Account, and many other such-like Representations did they make him.

But he paid no Regard to all this, neither shew'd any Inclination to return to us, till the Imperial Viceroy, convinced at last of his Obstinacy, told him in the Emperor's Name, that he ought to return, for that his Imperial Majesty could not by any Law, keep him from us, nor during the present War with

Turky, and also in *Italy* with the King of *Spain*, embroil himself with us upon his Account.

When he saw how the Case stood, fearing he should be deliver'd up to us, whether he would or not; he at length resolv'd to return home, and declared his Mind to our Envoys, and to the Imperial Viceroy.

He likewise wrote the same thing to us, acknowledging himself to be a Criminal and Blame-worthy. The Copy of which Letter is hereunto subjoin'd

And in this Manner he is arriv'd here. And albeit now our Son, by so long a Course of Criminal Disobedience against us, his Father and his Lord, for many Years, and particularly for the Dishonour he hath cast upon us in the Face of the World, by withdrawing himself, and raising Calumnies of us, as if we were an unnatural Father, and for opposing his Sovereign, hath deserved to be punish'd with Death.

Nevertheless, our Paternal Affection inclines us to have Mercy upon him; and we therefore pardon his Crimes, and exempt him from all Punishment of the same.

But considering his Unworthiness, and the Series of his irregular Conduct above described, we cannot in Conscience leave to him, after us, the Succession to the Throne of *Russia*, foreseeing, that, by his vicious Courses he would entirely destroy the Glory of our Nation, and the Safety of our Dominions, which thro' God's Assistance we have acquired and establish'd by an incessant Application; for it is notorious, and known to every one, how much it hath cost us, and with what Efforts we have not only recover'd the Provinces which the Enemy had usurp'd from our Empire, but also conquer'd several considerable Towns and Countries, and with what Care we have caused our People to be instructed in all sorts of Military and Civil Sciences, to the Glory and Advantage of the Nation, and Empire.

Now,

Now, as we should pity our States and our faithful Subjects, if by such a Successor we should throw them back into a much worse Condition than ever they were yet;

So, by the Paternal Authority, in virtue of which, by the Laws of our Empire, even any of our Subjects may disinherit a Son, and give his Succession to such other of his Son as he pleases:

And in quality of a Sovereign Prince, in consideration of the Safety of our Dominions, we do deprive our said Son *Alexei*, for his Crimes and Unworthyness, of the Succession, after us, to our Throne of *Russia*, even tho' there should not remain a single Person of our Family after us.

And we do constitute and declare Successor to the said Throne, after us, our Second Son *Peter*, tho' yet very young, having no Successor that is older.

We lay upon our said Son *Alexei* our Paternal Curse, if ever, at any time, he pretends to, or reclaims the said Succession.

And we desire of our faithful Subjects, whether Ecclesiasticks, or Seculars, of all Ranks and Conditions, and of the whole *Russian* Nation, that in Conformity to this Constitution and our Will, they acknowledge and consider our said Son *Peter*, appointed by us to succeed, as Lawful Successor; and that agreeably to this our Constitution they confirm the Whole, by Oath before the Holy Altar, upon the Holy Gospels, kissing the Cross.

And all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our Will, and who from this Day forward shall dare to consider our Son *Alexei* as Successor, or to assist him for that Purpose, we declare them Traytors to us, and their Country. And we have order'd that these Presents shall be every were publish'd and divulged, to the end no Person may pretend Ignorance. Done at Moscow, the 3^d of February 1718. O. S. Sign'd with our Hand, and seal'd with our Seal. In

In the next Place, if we consider the Validity of the above mention'd Reasons, we shall from his Czarish Majesty's Impeachment, and Disinheritance of his Son, for *want of Grace* (a Notion too much in vogue with all the Enemies of the true Religion) have just Grounds to observe, that the Tenet of *Founding Dominion in Grace*, which has been so often asserted and maintain'd among us; and has now got footing in *Muscovy*, is what can never hold good in any Country whatsoever; since the Succession to any Hereditary Throne whatsoever, ought to be by Virtue of *Primogeniture*, and not of *Grace*, as will be proved by the following Sections.

S E C T. I.

The Proposition proved, by Humane Authority, of the Heathens, as also by Divine Authority.

IN Plato's Time, Kings were either *Elective*, κατὰ νόμον according to the Law and Custom of particular Nations, as in *Carthage*, and as at this Day in *Poland*; or they were κατὰ γένος Hereditary, according to *Primogeniture*, as in *Lacedemon* and *Macedonia*. For the *Lacedemonians*, and *Macedonians*, were not only for Kingly Government, but also for the due and regular Succession of their Kings in the right Line. To the same Purpose *Aelian* informs us in *Hist. l. 6. c. 13.* That among the *Grecians*, their Kings reign'd Successively according to *Birth-Right*, and particularly, *Gelon* in *Sicilia*, the *Leuconian* Kings in *Bosphorus*, and the *Cypselidae* in *Corinth*. Though (as he reports) the Legal Succession of their Kings by *Primogeniture*, seldom ran farther in a direct Lineal Descent, than ἐπὶ τριγονίαν unto the *Third Generation*; by Reason of frequent *Insurrections*, and bloody *Rebellions*, in which, too often, some powerful Usurper or other mounted the Throne (even as *Oliver Cromwell* in this our Kingdom) and cut off the

the right Heir. Thus *Might* over-coming *Right*, turned the *Stream* of Regal Government out of its proper *Channel*, and forced it to run (at least for a While) a *by-Way*.

Nicocles, or rather *Isocrates* personating that Emperor, strenuously defends his own just Title to the *Crown*, by Virtue of his *Birth-Right*; when he assures the World, that he came to the *Crown*, not by Usurpation, not by any illegal and sinister Way, but Honestly and Justly; to Wit, by *Inheritance*, descended from his *Primogenitors* to his *Father*, and from his *Father*, immediately to himself.

As Humane, so also Divine Authority speaks in Justification of the Right of *Primogeniture*, and alledges this Truth, that Kings and their First-born Sons ought Successively to reign, as is evidenced by our Saviour's Answer to *Pontius Pilate*: *St. John* 18. 34. *Pilate said to him, art thou a King.* *JESUS* Answered, *Thou sayest that I am a King, to this End was I born, &c.* In which Answer our blessed Saviour asserts two great Truths. 1. That he himself, was truly and indeed a *King*, as *Pilate* had said. 2. That he was *King* by *Primogeniture*, and *Birth-Right*, for unto this End, to Wit; that he might be a *King*, and might declare to all the World the same Truth, *was he born*. Thus the Holy *Jesus* rationally urges and pleads his own *Birth*, as a sufficient Title of his *Father's Kingdom*, inasmuch as his *Father* was a *King*, and he was his *First-born*. Which Answer of *Christ*, when *Pilate* rightly understood, to Wit; that *Jesus* was indeed a *King*, but not of *this World*; and when he understood also, that *Jesus* his being a *King*, was no more prejudicial to *Cæsar's Crown* and Dignity, than was that *internal Empire* which the *Stoick Philosophers* attributed to every *Wise Man*: Now when *Pilate* clearly understood *Jesus* his Meaning, then he went immediately out of the *Judgment-Hall* unto the *Jews*,

Jews, and professed publickly to them, that he found in Jesus no Fault at all.

S E C T. I.

The Proposition proved by the Unalterable Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture.

THat Kings and their Lawful Heirs whether *good or bad, whether beloved or hated*, ought Successively to Reign is fully proved by the Antient, and unalterable Law of Inheritance. Which Law was, and still is grounded. 1. On God's express Command, and so it is a *judicial* Law of God. 2. On Natural Reason, and so it becomes a *positive* Law of Nature, obliging all Nations, at all Times to the Observation thereof.

Which Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture, we find recorded by Moses, in *Deut. 21. v. 15, 16, 17.* And to run thus: *If a Man have two Wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have born him Children, both the beloved and the hated: And if the First-born Son be her's that was hated, then it shall be, when he maketh his Sons to INHERIT that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the beloved, FIRST-BORN, before the Son of the Hated, which is indeed the First-born: But he shall acknowledge the Son of the hated for the FIRST-BORN, by giving him a double Portion of all that he hath, &c.*

By this Law, it is undeniably evident, that the *First-born* should ever be the Heir of his Father, whether the said *First-born* were *good or bad, beloved or hated.* And the Reason God gives for this Law is this, *Isa. v. 17.* *Because the First-born is the Beginning of his Father's Strength, and therefore, the Right of the First-born is his, that is to say, the Right of Inheritance is his.* So that this Law of Inheritance by Primogeniture, is not only a *Positive, and judicial* Law, made by God, binding the People of the *Jews*; but
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it is also a *Moral Law*, founded on Natural Reason; and therefore is for ever *Obligatory*, and at all Times *Binds* all Nations to observe and keep it.

For, if among the *Jews* the *First-born* was therefore to *Inherit*, because he was the *BEGINNING* of his *Father's Strength*: Then by the same Force of Reason, ought all *First-born* Sons of all Men whatsoever, to *Inherit their Father's Substance*, because they are all the *Beginning of their Father's Strength*: And therefore the Right of *Inheritance* is theirs. From which Concessions we thus argue, to Wit; that if *Succession* and *Inheritance* be establish'd upon the *First-born* in *private Families*, because of his *Primogeniture*: Then, by the same *Law*, the Right of *Inheritance* and of *Succession* unto the Crown is for ever settled upon the *First-born* of Kings. For the *First-born* of Kings are the *Beginning of their Royal Fathers Strength*, and therefore the Right of the *First-born*, that is to say, the Right of *Inheritance* and of *Succession* to their Father's Throne, *is theirs*.

And from this *Moral Law* of *Inheritance* by *Primogeniture*, it came to pass; that not only the *Jews*, but also, all Civiliz'd Nations among the *Heathens*, did prefer their *First-born* Sons to be their *Heirs*, and particularly the *First-born* Sons of their Kings to succeed to, and *Inherit* their Father's Crown and Dignities. For Common and Natural Reason dictated this to be the *First-born's* Right. And it is to be noted, though God, did often use his own Prerogative, and did, among the *Jews*, set up and pull down Kings at his Pleasure, which no Creature, tho' never so great, ought to do: Yet this is to be observed, that after God had once settled the Succession to the Crown of *Israel*, in King *David's* Family, and particularly on King *Solomon's* Issue by *Primogeniture*: That then it was High Treason for any to put by the Lawful Heir, although the

said Heir was never so bad as to either *Faith*, or *Manners*.

Nor may we forget the Chronologers Observation, (*Allen. Script. Chronol. p. 154.*) scil. That all who reigned in *Judah* after King *Solomon*, they were all the right Heirs to the Crown, except only Queen *Ataliab*, who was of the House of *Omri*, and of the Tribe of *Issachar*. She only by Fraud and Violence stepped up into the Throne that did not belong to her; and she pay'd dear for it: For the Divine Vengeance soon overtook her, and rendred to her the just Wages of her *Treason*, which was *Death*. For, 2. *Chron. 23. 15.* *They laid hold on her and slew her, and set up Joash (the right Heir) and then all the People rejoiced and the City was quiet, (v. 21.)* after that they had slain *Ataliab* with the Sword.

And, although for the Sins of *Solomon*, Almighty God did rend away from his Royal House and Lineage, *Ten Tribes*, and erected a Distinct King over those said *Ten Tribes*, to shew, 1. His own Justice against Impenitent Sinners, 2. To exert his own Prerogative, and to let the World know, that it was in his Power alone to set up, and to pull down Kings. Yet God did not disinherit, for ever, the right Heir of King *Solomon*. For although God did appoint a New Kingdom, and a New Succession in *Israel*, for the Reasons above-mention'd; yet it was only for a certain Term of Years. And by limiting the Succession in *Israel* to a Term of Years, the All-wise God did clearly hint to all Men, this Truth, to *Wit*; that notwithstanding the Inter-regnums of *Jeroboam*, and of all the other Kings of *Israel*: That, however still the Right of Inheritance, and of Succession to the Imperial Crown over all *Israel*, as well as over all *Judah*, still belonged to the Line and House of *Solomon*. And it so happen'd, that after God had sufficiently punished the House of

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of *Solomon*, for their *Rebellions* against his *Divine Majesty*: That then, according to his own *Law of Inheritance*, he restored the whole *Kingdom* back again to the right *Heir* of the *Line* and *House* of *King Solomon*. For *Josias*, the right *Heir* of *King Solomon* by *Primogeniture*, reigned over all *Israel*, as well as over all *Judah*.

SECTION III.

The Proposition proved by Reason, and the common Sentiments of Religion.

R *Reason* and *Religion* dictate it to be a Thing absolutely *sinful* and *unlawful* to set aside a Prince, who holds his *Tenor* to his *Father's Dominions* after his *Decease* by *Primogeniture*; because to *preclude* a *Lawful Heir* from the *Crown*, for fear of future *Evils*, which may happen in his *Reign* and *Government*, is truly, 1. To suppose a *Fault* in the *Right Heir*, before there is one: And to act upon such a *Supposal*, *Savour's* of the height of *Malice* and *Disingenuity*: In *Truth*, *so to do*, in our *Apprehension*, is no better than to *hang a Man first*, and then to *Try* him afterwards. 2. *So to do*, is to commit an *Act*, than which none can be more *Arbitrary*, by trusting more to *Man's Policy*, than to *God's Wisdom*; more to *Man's Care*, than to *God's Providence*, for the *Prevention* of future *Evils*.

The *Holy Scriptures* assure us, that the *Heart* of the *King* (and of his right *Heir*) is in the *Hand* of the *Lord*, as the *Rivers of Water*, he turneth it whither soever he will, but this *Fanatical Doctrine* of excluding a *Right Heir* from the *Crown*, for *Want* of *Grace*, and for fear of future *Evils*, that may possibly be done by him, *speaks the Contrary*: For this same *Doctrine* avouches for a *Truth*, that the *Heart* of the *King*, and of his *Successor*, is not in the *Hand* of the *Lord*: Or if it be, that then *God* will not turn it

so, as to do any Good to the People: Now what is all this, but in Effect at the best to do an apparent *Evil*, that a contingent Good may come of it? Which Principle is *Anti-Christian*, and condemned for such by *St. Paul*, who assures us, that they who maintain such an irreligious Tenet, scil. *Let us do Evil that Good may come; their Damnation is just*, Rom. 3. 8.

The Learned *Gerson* tells us, that the very Beasts of the Field, observe the natural Law of *Primogeniture*; and in their Motion put the Eldest *foremost*; and that when this Order is broken, by some *Rebellious*, and disorderly *Juniors*, then commonly there happens among them a fierce Combat: He likewise alledges that all Beings whatever, pay Obedience to the above-mention'd Law, and keep good Order: And that most, if not all living *Creatures*, which are guided only by the *Light of Nature*, do not only prefer Priority of Birth to all other Considerations; but also enjoin strict *Obedience* thereunto, according to the Laws of Nature. And what? Shall only Man (of all the *Creation* except *Devils*,) walk disorderly, and be found *Rebellious*, and *Disobedient* unto *God*, and unto the *Dictates* of the Holy Spirit? For Shame! Let it never be said, that Man the *Glory* of the *Creation*, is in a *Conspiracy* with the *fallen Angels*, against the *Divine Being*, who made him out of nothing, and can again resolve the Beauty of his most amiable Structure into the same Want of Matter and Motion.

SECTION IV.

The Proposition proved from the Authority of St. Austin, who determines all manner of Doubts relating to the Question, whether Dominion is founded in Grace? and the Example of several Popes before they became Rebellious to the Secular Powers.

ST. *Austin* pleading for Obedience to Kings and Emperors, answers the Grand Question, *viz.* Whether a *Christian* may lawfully obey an *Heathen* Emperor, and harmlessly fight under his Banner? In the *Affirmative*, contrary to *Origen*; and declares, that it is the Christian Soldier's Duty to obey his lawful Prince, although he be an *Heathen*, and to fight *faithfully* and *courageously* under his Command: Yea, this says he, the Christian ought to do; although the Grounds and Occasion of the said War, be probably unjust on the King's Side, *Aug. Contr. Faust. Marick. l. 21. c. 75.* And his Reason for is this, *scil.* Because God will punish the King or Emperor, for commencing an unjust War; but he will amply reward the innocent and dutiful Soldier for his hearty and sincere Obedience unto his Lord the King. *Ibid.* And in his most incomparable Book *de Civitate Dei*, he informs the People, that altho' Nero was a Tyrant, and the worst of Men as to his Personal Immoralities; *cujus fuit tanta Luxuries ut nihil ab eo putaretur virile metuendum, &c.* Yet because Divine Providence had rais'd up the said Nero, and made him to be *Cæsar*, their King and Governor, therefore the People ought to obey him. *Civ. Dei l. 5. c. 19.* And the same most Excellent Author, glancing on the Question, *scil. whether Dominion be founded only in Grace?* says, that in Heaven it is so; for no Man can inherit a Throne of Glory, but only he that is truly *gracious* and *holy*. But on Earth it is not so; for, *Regnum Terrenum, & piis & impiis, sicut ei placet, cui nihil injuste placet.* God disposes of these Earthly Kingdoms to good and bad, according to his own Pleasure, to whom nothing unjustly done is pleasing. *Ibid. c. 21.* And therefore the Subjects are in Duty to obey Nero, as well as *Augustus*; cruel *Domitian*, as well as kind and merciful *Vespasian*; the Apostate, and Idolatrous *Julian*, as well as the Pious and Orthodox

dox *Constantine*; for the one as well as the other is God's *Vicegerent*, and the Subjects lawful Prince and Sovereign. *Aug. Civ. Dei. l. 5. c. 21.*

Optatus the Famous Bishop of *Milevis* taught the same Doctrine of Loyalty to Kings, and their lawful Successors by Right of Inheritance, declaring, that all Kings ought to be obey'd: And altho' Kings should sometimes command Things which are in themselves unlawful to be commanded; yet it may be lawful for the Subjects in many Cases, actively to perform the said unlawful Commands of their said Kings. For thus the pious *Jews* when commanded by *Antiochus* to surrender up their *Bibles* to be burn'd by the Officers; (though with great Grief of Heart) readily obey'd. And the aforesaid *Optatus* blames very much the Emperor for imposing so ungodly a Command, but highly applauds the Obedience of the said dutiful, and Loyal *Jews*.

It is most certain, that the *Popes* of *Rome*, before they came to be Rebellious to the Secular Powers, humbly, and peaceably, obey'd their *Emperors*, and that not only in Things Lawful, or Indifferent, not only in Things Secular, and Civil, but also in Things that have seemed, in the *Popes* own Judgment, to be in their own Nature, *unlawful*; and which is more, the *Pope* of *Rome* has obey'd the Emperor, in Things Spiritual, and *Ecclesiastical*, as well as *Temporal*. As for Instance; when *Mauritius* the Emperor had made a Decree, that no Soldier should be admitted into any Monastery, and sent the said *Edict* unto *Pope Gregory*, surnamed the Great, to be forthwith, published by him and his *Clergy*: The said *Pope* obeyed the Emperor's Commands, and immediately caused the same to be dispersed through all his *Diocese*, and *Ecclesiastical* Dominions; and gave this Reason for his so doing, *viz. Quia erat Subjectus ejus Jussionibus*, &c. Because he (though
Pope)

Pope) ought to be Subject and Obedient to the Emperor's Commands; tho' in his own Judgment, he conceiv'd the said *Edict* to be in it self unlawful, and prejudicial unto many Persons, as well as in Reference to their *Spiritual* as their *Temporal* Benefit. *Heylin in Vit. Laud. Archiepiscopi. p. 3. 11.*

SECTION V.

Wherein it is proved, that, notwithstanding what has been said in Relation to St. Austin, Pope Gregory the Great, and others in the foregoing Section, this wicked Doctrine of deposing and murdering Kings, and precluding their Lawful Heirs for want of Grace is grounded on Popery.

THE Truth of this Assertion is so well known, as, ' That there is no Kingdom in our *European* World, but the Pope hath given it away upon the Account of Religion: No Country but he has made an *Aceldama* upon the Account of Religion. And many Kings hath he killed merely for Religion. ' This we will confirm and prove by the Authority of the most Eminent and Authentick of their own Writers; such as *Thomas Aquinas*, who says in his 22^d. *Quæst. 10. Art. Conclus. p. 22.* That *Infidels*, or *Unbelieving Princes* are not suffer'd to Govern and Reign over *Believers*. And that if there be any such *Infidels* and *Unbelieving Princes*, then the Church has Power and Authority to Depose and Remove them from their Government; and the Church ought to do it; and that because a King's *Infidelity* forfeits his Right of Dominion and Jurisdiction over Believers. And by an *Infidel*, *Aquinas* plainly tells us, that he means an *Heretick*; for, in his Sense, an *Heretick* is no *Jew*, *Turk* or *Pagan*, who absolutely denies *Christ* and *Christianity*, but a *Christian*, that is, one who professes that he believes in *Christ*, and hopes for Salvation only by him, but perverts, and

cor-

corrupts the *Doctrine of Christ*. *Ibid. Quæst. 11. Art. 1. Conclus. p. 23.* And that *Aquinas*, in the fore-mentioned Places, is to be understood of *Heretical Kings*, as well as of their *Subjects*, is evident from the Bent of his Argument, that is chiefly turn'd against them who have Right to Govern *jure Humano*, by human Right; but says he, because they are turned *Hereticks*, therefore *jure Divino*, they ought not to Reign, but to be not only *Excommunicated*, but also put to Death. For, *Quicumque resistit Auctoritati Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Hæresin incurrit; Quæ quidem Auctoritas principaliter residet in Summo Pontifice &c.* Whoever resists the Authority of the Church of Rome, that is to say, the Authority of the Pope and his Supremacy; (as do all Protestant Princes) he is an *Heretick*, and being an *Heretick* he ought to be destroyed and killed: All *Heretical Kings* are by the same Author, accounted no other than *Tyrants*, and therefore says he, the *People* may lawfully fight against them, and be no Ways guilty of *Sedition* and *Treason*.

Bonaventure declares it for an undoubted Truth, that the *Supreme Power* on Earth is in the *Pope*, and that (as he already has often done so again) he may remove *Kings* and depose *Emperors*, for their want of *Grace*, and that the *Pope* is accountable for so doing, to no *Earthly Power* whatever, whether *Regal*, *Imperial*, or otherwise, but only to *God*. *Bonavent. lib. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. 1.*

Cardinal Bellarmine assures his Reader, that the *Popes* of Rome have Power not only to *Excommunicate*, but also to *depose* and Sentence to *Death*, *Heretical* and *ungodly Kings*, and to give away their *Crowns* and *Lands* unto others that are *Godly* and *Catholic*; and to *Absolve* their *Subjects* from all *Duty* and *Allegiance* to them; and to confirm the Truth of what he asserts, he quotes the Authority and Judgment of *Pope Gregory VII. of Cajetan, Pet. Ancharanus, Syl-vester*

vester Prieras, Astenfis, and many others, for the same. And he highly applauds and justifies the *Pope's* Excommunicating *Hen. VIII* King of *England* for *Heresy*; which *Heresy* was only King *Henry's* renouncing the *Pope's* Supremacy, and defending his own.

The horrid Practice of Assassinating and Murthering Lawful Kings for want of Grace, and for *Heresy*, is amply justified and highly commended as a Meritorious Act, by *Pope Sixtus Quintus*, in his large Oration made to the Cardinals in Consistory at *Rome* on Sept. 11. 1589. Upon the Murth'r, and Death of *Henry III.* King of *France*, who was most barbarously Assassinated and stab'd to Death, in the midst of his Army, by *JACQUES CLEMENT* a Popish -- Dominican Fryar. In this Oration you will find the said *Pope* so far from exclaiming against the Monk for that execrable Murth'r committed upon the aforesaid King's Person, that, he rather in high Strains of Rhetorick, wonderfully applauds the said hellish Fact, and stiles it, *a most famous, memorable, and well nigh incredible Act*; yea, *a Work done, not without the particular Providence and Disposition of Almighty God.* *A Fryer has killed a King.* And for fear his Auditors should think he told them a Romance, he repeats it again, saying, *I assure you, a MONK has killed a KING, not a King painted in Paper, or pictured upon a Wall, not a Jack of Lent, but a real living King, even the French King in the midst of his Army, whilst encompassed about with his Guard.* And although all Monks by their Holy Order and Profession were forbid to shed Blood, yet it was commendable in this MONK. And farther the *Pope* acquaints the Cardinals with what Instrument the Monk effected his bloody Design, viz. With a Knife, which he had cunningly hid in his Sleeve for that Purpose. But that which seems most inhuman in this *Pope*, was his denying the aforesaid Murth'ered King, *Christian Bu-*

rial, and his *Holiness* pleaded Sacred *Scripture* for his Warrant. After all this *Barbarity*, any one in Pity and Charity would have thought, that although the said Pope denyed the *Massacred King Honourable*, and *Christian Burial*, yet he would not have denyed him his *Own*, and all compassionate Men's *Prayers* for his Majesty's *Soul's* Deliverance, if not from *Purgatory*, yet from *Hell*; but such was his implacable Malice against the said King, as that he did not only Decree, that no *Funeral Rites* should be performed for him: But also, that no *Prayers* should be made for him, after his *Death*, since he dying in his *Heresy*, was excluded from all *Grace*, and *Mercy* hereafter.

Lessius, and *Filiuccius* jointly affirm, that any private Man may for the Propagation of Religion kill any King, or any other Man, who shall oppose the Growth of *true Religion*, though it is well observ'd, that *Lessius* says, *Talis in Republica bene constituta, ut Homicida plecteretur, &c.* Few Men will attempt to do it, for fear they should be *hang'd* for their *Pains*.

We might produce *Paulus de Palatio*, and many other Writers of the *Roman Church* to the same Purpose. But these are sufficient to prove our Assertion, to wit; that the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of *deposing* and *killing* Lawful Kings, and of precluding their *Lawful Heirs* from Reigning for their *Heresy*, or for want of *Grace*, or for their *Moral Wickedness*, is grounded and first founded upon *Popery*, and was *Preached* and *Practised* first of all by the *Popes*, and *Papists*, of the *Church of Rome*.

S E C T. VII.

The Doctrine and Practice of resisting Lawful Kings, and of deposing and killing them, and of excluding their right Heirs for want of Grace, &c. proved also to be grounded on Fanaticism.

BY *Fanaticks*, Rodolph Gualter, means all those who deny the King's Supremacy, and set up some other Power above the King, which may controul him in Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, although they be not *Papists* in Profession: And these *Fanaticks*, are not only *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*, but they are also the *Classical Divices*, commonly called *Presbyterians*; and the *Congregational Divines* alàs *Independants*: All which do deny the King's Supremacy, and set up another Power above that of the King; such as the *Consistorian Power* among the *Presbyterians*, and the *Congregational Church Power* among the *Independents*.

These are the Men we mean, by *Fanaticks*, and the Doctrine and Practice of *deposing* and *destroying* Kings, for their supposed *want of Grace*, and of *precluding* their *right Heirs*, for any such Reason, is the *Sum* of what we mean, by *Fanaticism*. And because these Men pretend to be against *Popery*, but yet deny the King's Supremacy, and maintain the *Popish* Doctrine and Practice of *deposing*, and *killing* Kings, and of *debarring* their *Lawful Heirs* from *Reigning*, for their *Heresy*, and *want of Grace*. We therefore call them *Fanatical Recusants*, and not *Protestants*.

Of this Number of *Anti-Protestants*, we cannot but reckon these that follow, viz. *John Calvin* who in his *Sermon* 131 on *Job. 34.* written in *French*, has these Words, as they are translated in *English* by *Arthur Golding*, *Anno. Dom. 1573.* 'Whereas
' God hath forbidden private Persons to rail upon
' their *Rulers*, it is to make us live in Peace, and
' without Trouble, and to yeld some *Reverence* to
' the Seat of *Justice*. — But if there be evil and
' wicked *Governors*, they must be *sharply rebuked*
' according to their *Deservings*. --- And we must
' pull down all *Loftiness* that lifteth up it self against
' our Lord *Jesus Christ* Those then, that will
' need's be spared, and have their *Vices* untouched,

‘ because they be in Authority, must coin a new Gospel,
 ‘ of which Number are the *Kings in our Days*, which
 ‘ will needs be called *Anointed and Holy*, and yet
 ‘ cannot abide to have their Sores touched by any
 ‘ Means, but would have Liberty to pervert all
 ‘ Things, &c.

And in his Institutes he speaks more plainly, and
 says, that ‘ although it be not lawful for *private*
 ‘ Men to rise up against their King; yet where there
 ‘ are *Inferior Magistrates* elected out of the People,
 ‘ or where there are Three Orders or Estates, there
 ‘ the People ought by their *Representatives*, to mo-
 ‘ derate their KING’s ill Government, to punish
 ‘ his *Vice and Tyranny*, and to over-rule him, as the
 ‘ *Ephors* did the *Lacedemonian Kings*, and as the *Tri-*
 ‘ *bunes* of the People did the *Roman Consuls*, whom
 ‘ they deposed, when they thought fit; and that
 ‘ they are *Traitors* to the People and common Wealth,
 ‘ if they do not.

Theodore Beza imitates his Master *John Calvin*,
 and writes very Unworthily and Reproachfully of
 Kings, taxing them generally with *Pride and Luxury*,
 with *Cruelty and Covetousness*, with *Folly and Ignorance*.
Cujusmodi Vitia sunt, Impietas, Avaritia, Ambitio, Crudelitas, Luxus, Libidines, &c. *Beza de Confes. Fid. c. 5.* And therefore says he, Kings ought
 not to preside, nor to be present in *Oeconomical*
 or *National Councils* and *Synods*. By Virtue of which,
 he clearly denies the King’s *Supremacy*, whereby
Constantine presided in the first *Nicene Council*.
 Nor does the same *Beza* stop here; for after he has
 excluded Kings from *Councils, Synods, and Church*
Affairs, then he subjugates Kings, and all *Secular*
Magistrates to his *Consistorian Orders and Discipline*;
Et vicissim nemo est, qui Verbo dei, ac proinde Ecclesi-
astica Disciplina, non Subjiciatur. And again, there
 ‘ is none that is not under the Direction of God’s
 ‘ Word, and from thence made Subject to Ecclesiastical
 ‘ Dis-

‘ Discipline. ’ Which *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, he most impiously makes equivalent with the *Word of God*.

Amandus Polanus says, that it is not only *Lawful*, but *Meritorious* for any Person to kill a *Tyrannical King*, who by his undue Courses, and his want of *Grace*, shall afflict or oppress the *common Wealth*, and that the City ought, amply to reward the said Regicide. *Syntag. Theol. l. 10. c. 27.*

Frederick Baldwin a *Lutheran*, and a Professor of Divinity at *Wittenburgh*, does very *Fanatically* distinguish betwixt the King’s Person and his Office, and declares, that the *Honour* and *Obedience*, which the Subjects owe, is due to the King’s Office, and not to his Person. *Analysis in Rom. 13. 1.* So that according to this *DISTINCTION*, Subjects may take up *Arms*, and fight against the King’s Person, and not against his Kingly Office. They may kill the King, as in *England* they did in the *Grand Rebellion*, and yet preserve his Office, that is, his Throne.

Peter Martyr destroys all his former wholesome Doctrine of *Obedience to Kings* and the Supreme Magistrates, when he Affirms ‘ that if the Superior Powers shall suffer *Vice* and *Idolatry* to Reign, then, as it was a Virtue in the Zealous *Jews*, to oppose the Idolatrous Doings of the *Heathen Kings* and Emperors, by raising Tumults, Seditions, and Wars against them, as did the *Maccabees* and others ; So it is the Duty of all Christian Subjects to oppose, and by Force of Arms to suppress the *Idolatry* and *Tyranny* of Kings, and of the *Higher Powers*. *Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. de Magistrat. p. 10. 19.*

Rob. Rollo makes the same *Fanatical* Distinction between the Person and the Power of a King, as did *Frederick Baldwin*, and says, that the Subject is to shew *Obedience* rather to the Power and Office of the King, than to his Person. Upon which Distinction (as has been observed before) did the late *Presby-*

terian Rebels raise War against King Charles I. pretending that they fought not against the King and his Authority, but against the Person of Charles Stuart who was King, and his evil Councillors. And the Independents when they had Murder'd him, said, that they had not killed the King, but the Man Charles Stuart, the last of English Tyrants.

Stephanus Curfellans, as Fanatical as any Wretch of them all, declares it to be his Judgment, ' that ' it is an horrible Sin and Wickedness, for any King ' or Supreme Magistrate to make Laws to force their ' Subjects unto an Observation of their Ecclesiastical ' Rites and Ceremonies, and unto a Conformity with, ' and the Embracement of their Religion, although ' it be the true Religion. ' Curfell. Instit. l. 7. c. 37. And his Argument is this; ' because (in his Opinion) ' Princes cannot oblige, or bind the Consciences of ' Men, by any of their Laws. For the Conscience ' belongs only to God, and he alone is the Judge ' thereof; and therefore God only, can make Laws ' to oblige it. ' Wherefore this our Author concludes, ' all those Princes to be Usurpers of GOD's ' Prerogative, who offer to make Laws binding and ' obliging Mens Consciences, and that they must expect the revenging Hand of God to follow them for ' so doing. ' And which is most Anabaptistical, and most Fanatical of all, the same Curfellans will not allow Christian Kings so much as to Imprison, Mulct, or Fine any Heretick or Schismatick on the Account of Religion. ' And his Argument for this, is; scil. ' For fear Kings should Persecute, Imprison, Mulct, ' and punish Christ himself under the Notion of ' Schism or Heresy, as did Saul alias Paul? ' Fieri posse ut præ immodico Impios & Hæreticos Exterminandi Zelo, Christum ipsum, quemadmodum Saulus olim, in Membris suis persequantur, vinciant, & trucidant, &c. I bid. Sect. 9.

S E C T. VIII.

The Sympathy, and Mutual Agreement between the Papists and Fanaticks, in Relation to the Doctrine and Practice before mentioned made farther to appear, in a Comparison between two solemn Leagues and Covenants, enter'd into by the First, against King Henry VIII. and the Second against the Royal Martyr King Charles I. with proper Reflections thereupon.

WHEN Sir Francis Baggot was General of the Rebels, that waged War against King Henry VIII. for his being a Protestant, and marrying a Lutheran; and the Parliamentary Forces were in Arms against their Liege Sovereign King Charles I. each of them respectively caus'd a Solemn League and Covenant to be drawn up, and taken by all that went into such unjustifiable Measures after the following Manner.

The Solemn Oath and Covenant of the Papists in Conspiracy against King Henry VIII.

To wit,

YE shall not enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commonwelthe, but only for the Love that you bere unto Almighty Godde, his Faith, and to Holy Church Militant the Maintenance hereof, to the Preservation of the King's Person, his Issue, to the purifying of the Nobilitie, and to expulse all Uilayne Blode, and evil Counsellors against the Commonwelthe, from his Grace and the Privie Counsell of the same, and that ye shall not enter into oure said Pilgrimage, for no particular Prosite to your self, nor to do no displeasure to no privy Person, but by Councell for the Commonwelthe,

swelthe, nor flee, nor murder for no Enbye,
but in your Herts put away all Fear and
Dread, and take afore you the Crosse of
Christ, and in your hearts his Faith, the Re-
stitution of the Church, the Subpremon of
Perryks, and their Oppynions, by all the
Volle Contents of this Book: *Speeds Hist. H.*
8. c. 25. p. 707.

*The Fanaticks solemn League and Covenant against
King Charles the First.*

To wit,

YE doe swear, that ye shall sincerely, real-
ly and constantly, thorough the Grace
of God, endeavour in your severall Places
and Callings, the Reformation of Religion in
England and Ireland, as it is reformed in *Scot-
land*. That ye shall without Respect of Per-
sons endeavour the Extirpation of Popery,
and Prelacy, that is Church-Government by
Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deans, their Chan-
cellors and Commissaries, and all other Ec-
clesiastical Officers, depending on the Hierarchy;
That ye shall with the same Sincerity,
Reality, and Constancy in your severall Vo-
cations, endeavour with your Estates and
Lives mutually to preserve the Rights and
Privileges of Parliaments, and the due
Liberties of the Kingdom, and to preserve
and defend the King's Majesty, his Person
and Authority, that the World may bear Wit-
ness with your Consciences of your Loyalty, and
that ye have no Thoughts or Intentions to
diminish his Majesty's just Power and Great-
ness.

That ye shall also, with all Faithfulness,
endeavour the Discovery of all such as have
been,

been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments by hindering the Reformation, dividing the King from his People, that they may be brought to Tryal, and receive condign Punishment.

That ye shall assist and defend what ye can, all those that enter into this blessed League and Covenant.

That ye profess and declare before God and the World, your unfeigned Desire to be humbled for your Sins, and for the Sins of the Kingdom, and that it is your Care and unfeigned Purpose to amend your Lives.

And this Covenant ye make in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as ye shall answer it at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen you by his Holy Spirit to this End, and to bless your Desires and Proceedings with Success, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Anti-Christian Tyranny, to join in the same or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquility of Christian Kingdoms and Common-Wealths.

So help you God. Full. Hist. ch. 1. lib. 11. c. 21. p. 201. *Concordant ambo cum Origin.*

Now if any unbays'd and unprejudiced Person will but compare these Covenants together, he may easily see and conclude, that *tho'* the one be larger than the other, yet that the *Fanaticks* took the *Platform* of their Covenant from the *Papists*, only the *Papists* in their Covenant swore to maintain the ancient *Hierarchy*; and to preserve not only the King,

but also his *Heirs* and *Issue*. Whereas the *Fanaticks* swore to extirpate all *Hierarchy*, and altho' they took an Oath to preserve the *King*, they did not swear to preserve his *lawful Heir and Issue*, for they do not make the least Mention of them in their *Covenant*. And it is to be noted farther, that altho' the *Fanaticks* in their *Covenant* swore to preserve and defend the *King's Person and Authority*, yet they swore to maintain him *only* in his *just Power and Greatness*. And they made themselves *Interpreters* of what was the *King's just Power and Greatness*. Furthermore, the *Fanaticks* in their *Covenant*, swore to preserve and defend the *King's Person and Authority*, *only in Subserviency* to the *Rights and Privileges of Parliaments*, and the *Liberties of the People and Kingdom*; all which they, in their *Covenant*, put before the *Preservation of the King, his Person and Authority*. Whereas the Truth is this, *to wit*, That neither the *Rights and Privileges of Parliaments*, nor the *Liberties of the People*, can possibly be preserved and maintained *without* the constant *Preservation of the King, his Person and Authority, his Heirs and Successors in his, and their full Rights and Royal Prerogatives*.

For, the *King* is the *Life of the Kingdom*: He alone by his *Prerogative* gives *Life and Being* to *Parliaments*, and with the *Breath of his Mouth*, can, and does *Annihilate* them at his *Pleasure*. He is the *Spring and Fountain-Head* of all the *People's Liberties*: They are all the *Results and Effects* of his *Donations*, upon condition of their *Faith and Loyalty* to Him. For in *England*, whatever *Lands, Immunities and Privileges* the *Subjects* enjoy, they hold all *à Capite* from the *King*, and his *Heirs*; and therefore to turn the *Stream of Succession* from the *King* or his *First-born*, who is *Heir to the Crown*, or to *infringe* their ancient *Rights and Prerogatives*, is truly to *destroy* the *Subjects just Title* to their *Liberties and Enfranchisements*:

ments: All, which *Liberties* depend upon their Allegiance to the King, and his lawful Heirs.

But it is not proper to descant any further on these *Rebellious Engagements and Covenants*, either of *Papists*, or of *Fanaticks*; only let me take leave to add this, *scil.* That if according to some *Romish* Authors, the *Protestants*, that is, the *Episcopal* Men of the *Church of England*, be (as indeed they are) like the *Papists*, in all that is good in the *Papists*; then we may on the other Hand avouch for a *Truth*, that the *Fanaticks* are like the *Papists*, in all, or most things which are bad in the *Papists*. And therefore if those *Authors* would have us to love the *Papists*, for what they are like unto us. Then Reason tells us, that we ought to *dissent* from both *Papists* and *Fanaticks* in what they are *contrary* to us, and ever to abhor their treasonable Practices of *covenanting* against our lawful *Princes* and their *Heirs*, upon Pretence of want of *Grace*, or the like; for he that hateth Righteousness shall govern; nor is it lawful to say unto a King, thou art wicked, nor unto Princes, ye are ungodly, Job. 34. 17. 18.

S E C T. IX.

The Doctrine of Dominion being founded in Grace, proved to be the chief Cause of Rebellion among Christians.

AS Rebellion among *Heathens* and irreligious Men, commonly arises from *Pride* and *Ambition*, from *Lust*, *Envy* and *Malice*, from *Discontents*, *Oppression* and *Tyranny*: So *Sedition* and *Rebellion* among *Religious* Men who profess *Christianity*, and pretend to *Tenderness* of *Conscience*, to *Grace* and *Holiness*; ordinarily, yea, chiefly, if not wholly, arises from a *Persuasion* and firm *Belief* of that very false *Doctrine* and *Position*, stilly maintained both by *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, to wit, that *temporal Dominion* is found-

ed in Grace, and that only the Godly ought to Reign and Govern upon Earth.

But before I proceed to disprove the aforesaid Positions, it will be necessary to inform the weaker sort of Men, what is generally meant by *Grace*; *vid.* The Gifts and Graces of the *Holy Ghost*, such as. 1. A Faith in *Christ*. A Belief of the *Christian Religion*: Without which Belief, every Man is an *Infidel*. 2. All Moral Virtues wrought in us by the *Holy Ghost*, concurring with our own Endeavours; such as *Sobriety, Prudence, Justice, Love, Meekness, &c.* Sanctification, and Holiness of Life and Manners, without which every Man is morally wicked.

The Fanaticks, both *Classical, Congregational, and Anabaptists* (to do them Right) by *Grace* do commonly mean, a Conversion unto God, a firm Faith in *Christ*, Sanctification, and Holiness of Life, and other Gifts and Graces of the *Holy Spirit*. And farther, by *Grace* they all mean a firm Belief of the Truth of their own several Ways of Church Government, in Opposition unto the *Hierarchy*: And whoever is not of their Way and Perswasion, is look'd upon by them, as no better than an *Heathen and Publican*, or one that is *ungodly and wanting Grace*. And therefore, if he that is not of their Way and Perswasion be a King or Magistrate, and will not come over to them, and declare that he has *Grace*, and is in the Number of the Godly; if he will not do so, then he has no Right to Rule and Govern over them, nor to impose Laws upon their Consciences, but they may lawfully resist such a Prince or Magistrate. And that because, according to them, all temporal Dominion is founded in *Grace*.

The Papists in like manner by *Grace* mean, not only a Faith in *Jesus Christ*, &c. But also, and primarily, a firm Belief of the Pope's Supremacy, and of the Church of Rome's Authority over all others in the *Christian World*. And whoever denies the Pope's Supre-

Supremacy, or the particular Church of Rome to be the only Catholick Church of Christ, is an *Heretick*, and has no true Grace." And therefore if such an *Heretick* be an *Emperor*, *King*, or supreme *Magistrate*, he ought not to reign, and govern in any *Christian Common-Wealth*, until he shall openly repent, and return to the Church of Rome. For until that be done, he (tho' a King) is judged by them, no other than a *graceless Heathen* or *Apostate*, and therefore ought not to Govern; since according to them, *All temporal Dominion is founded in Grace*, that is, in a *Faith in Jesus Christ*, and in a *Belief of the Pope's Supremacy*. The first that we read of who professed and asserted this Doctrine of *temporal Dominion* being founded in Grace, was Pope Hildebrand, *Qui Satanam imitatus, se bujus mundi Regna Universa pro Imperio auferre, & dare jactitavit*; who like Satan, pretended that all the Kings of the World were at his Disposal, and that he being Christ's Vicegerent, had full Power to give or take them away, as he should think fit.

The first *Anti-Papists*, that we meet with, that stood by and affirmed the same Tenets, were *Wickliff*, *Huss*, and the *Waldenses* (if the *Monks* are to be credited) which Bishop *Davenant* says, was their great Error. But as the same Author observes, although those good Men were of that Opinion, yet their Error and Mistake, was not so great as the *Papists*. For *Huss* and the *Waldenses* were absolutely against setting aside the *First-born Princes*, for want of Grace.

S E C T. X.

The Arguments to prove that Dominion is not founded in Grace.

THE Arguments I shall bring to prove, that *Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace*, are such

such as these, *to wit*, 1. Because it was *Birth-Right*, not *Grace*, which gave Hereditary Princes a just Title to their high Dignities; and therefore it was, that *Infants* having often been Crowned *Kings*, before they have been capable of declaring to the World, whether they had *Grace* or no.

It was upon the Account of *Birth-Right*, not *Grace*, that *Jeboash* when but *one Year old*, was called King, and when but *seven Years old*, was Crowned, and the People solemnly Swore *Allegiance* to him as their King, 2. Kings 11. 3. 12. 17. And therefore, although *Jeboash* proved a wicked Man, especially to his Friend *Jeboiada's* Son, yet he did not lose, nor forfeit his *Primogeniture* and *Birth-Right*. 2. Chron. 24. 21. For as *Gerson* truly notes. *Dominium in subditos non amittitur, nisi amisso eo, in qua fundatur*. As long as any Hereditary Prince retains his *Primogeniture*, on which his just Title is grounded, so long has he Right to the Succession, and ought to govern after his Father's Demise. And, for as much as it is not possible for any Prince to lose his *Primogeniture* (unless as *Nicodemus* thought, *he may be born again of his Mother*) therefore is it (in like Manner) impossible he should be rightfully set aside for want of *Grace*; &c.

2. *Heathen Kings* and *Princes* had a Right to *Reign*, and *Govern*, and yet they had not *Grace*, as we know of, in the Senses before mention'd: Nay, many of them had not common Humanity and Civility, but acted contrary to natural Reason and Morality, and yet God gave, even them, *Temporal Dominion*, and placed some of them, over his own People the *Jews*, to be obedient unto those said *Heathen Princes*; such as *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Assyria*, *Abasuerus*, *Cyrus*, and *Darius*: Yea, Christ himself Confirmed *Cæsar's* Title unto *Temporal Dominion*, although *Cæsar* was then an *Infidel*: This Christ did, in that his Command, give unto *Cæsar*, what is *Cæsar's*, as well as unto God what is God's. It is Bp. *Davenant's* Note, worthy of

of our Remembrance. *Apud Infideles & Impios, modus utendi hisce Temporalibus, sit plerumque injustus, Titulus talem habendi potest esse justissimus.* Dav. Deter. *Quæst.* 30. That there is a great Difference between the Right of Title to Government, and the right Mode of Governing, and of using that Title, For an *Heathen* may have a just Title to a Throne, and yet, possibly, not to govern well or justly.

But, 3. the *Apostles*, and *Primitive Christians*, in Cases of Right, and of common Equity and Justice did frequently appeal unto *Heathen*, and unbelieving Magistrates; as for Instance, St. Paul, *Act.* 25. 11. *Appello Cæsarem: I appeal unto Cæsar.* And vers. 12. *then FESTUS answered Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt go.* And from this very Appeal of St. Paul unto *Augustus* an *Unbeleiver*, does the Learned *Geo. Carlton*, argue and conclude, that *Temporal Dom nion is not founded in Grace.*

4. God is well pleased with *Heathen Princes*, for making War, and for fighting for their Right, when, by other Princes they are oppressed, wronged, and injured: And oft-times God gives Success and Victory to the oppressed Princes, as he did to *Eschol*, *Aner*, *Mamre*, and *Bera* King of *Sodm*, by the Hand of *Abram*, against *Chederlaomer* King of *Elam*. *Ergo, Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace.*

5. If no Man must reign, and govern, but only he who has Grace, then the People will never be assured, nor certainly know, who is their lawful King, and who is the right Heir to the Crown, and whom they are to obey; for the People cannot assuredly tell who has Grace, and who has not; there are *Hypocrites*, who pretend to have Grace, and yet truly have none; and there are many who do not publish Grace, and yet have much. Grace is invisibly resident in the Heart, and none knows the Heart of Man, but only God. Thus this Position opens

opens the Door unto *Rebellion*: For no Men will obey, or own *him* for their *Prince*, whom they do not know to be their *Prince*; for if they should, then they may obey a *Counterfeit*, instead of their true and lawful *Prince*, and so run themselves into a *Præmunire*.

6. This Doctrine of preventing *Kings* from reigning and governing for their *want* of *Grace*, can be invented by *Christians* for no other End, than to prevent all *Passive Obedience* unto *Kings* that shall prove *Tyrannical*, and to avoid going to Heaven in the fiery *Chariot* of *Martyrdom*. For as *St. Austin* writes, there will be no need of dying for Religion, if so be, wicked, or ungodly *Kings*, who want *Grace*, may not be suffer'd to reign, and by their *evil Laws*, to try *Believers* Faith, whether *sound* or *no*; and, in such Cases, to experiment their *Fear* of *God*, rather than of *Man*. For according to the *Apostles*, there is a Time, when *God* is to be obeyed rather than *Man*, and when we are to dye for *Christ*, and for the Faith. And that can be lawfully done, only then, when by the *Supreme Authority*, we are commanded, either to dye the Death, or to deny *Christ* or his Religion: In this Case, we are to obey the *Supreme MAGISTRATE*, *Passively*, by dying the Death, and not *actively* by doing what he commands: Because, what he commands, is expressly against the known Law, and Word of *God*.

From which Premises, we thus argue, *scil.* That if it be (as in Truth it is) a bounden *Duty*, and a noble Virtue in us *Christians*, *Passively* to obey our lawful *Princes*, by humbly and meekly submitting our Necks (without all Resistance) unto the Stroke of that *Death*, which they shall be pleased to lay upon us: And if it be, as it is a Sin in this Case, to resist our *Princes*; then from hence, we may rationally conclude, that our *Princes*, whatever they are,

are, who have Right of *Primogeniture*, have a Right to command us, and to rule, and reign over us, and to do with our *Bodies* (if we offend them, what they please; otherwise there can be no such Thing as *Martyrdom*. And therefore *Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace*.

S E C T. XI.

The ill Consequences of the Position; that Dominion is founded in Grace.

I Am in the last Place to point out the evil *Effects* and Consequences of *this Position*. That *Temporal Dominion is not founded in Grace*; which are such as these.

1. *Conventicles*. 2. *Rebellion*. 3. *A Confirmation of Heathen Kings and Princes in their Infidelity*.

1. *Conventicles*. For from a Belief that the *King* has not *Grace*, and therefore ought not to reign; is it, that the People do not look upon any *Laws*, which the King shall make to be *valid*, or any *Ways binding* their Consciences, especially in *Matters of Religion*, and of *Church Government*. And therefore it is, that they, declining the established and publick *Ordinances* of the *Realm*, do run into private, and unlawful *Cabals*, and *Assemblies*, which they (the ignorant deluded People) seem to be more Holy than the other. Nor do they believe, they do in the least *Sin* by *Conventicling*, contrary to the *Act of Uniformity*, which is the *King's Law*, because they are of full *Perswasion*, that it is no *Sin*, to violate and break the *Laws* and *Orders* of a *King*, who (in their Opinion) *wants Grace*.

And from hence also it is, that the People (who are not better catechised and instructed) so frequently leave their own *Parish-Churches*, and run abroad, to the great *Prophanation* of the *Lord's Holy*

Day, either unto *Conventicles*, or unto other *Churches*. And all is, because they fancy that their own *Parish-Minister* wants *Grace*, at least, that he is not so *Powerful* in his *Preaching*, nor so *Holy* (though he walks by the *Rubrick*) as is their *Neighbour Minister*. Which is a very great Error, destructive of all good Order and Conformity in the Church: For the Ministers sacred Office, and not his *Person*, obliges the People to a constant Attendance on his *Ministry*, especially as long he their *Minister*, is conformable unto the *Orders* and the *Canons* of the *Church*, both for *Doctrine* and *Manners*. And if any *Parish-Minister* be *vitious* in his *Life*, (which is a great *Scandal* to the *Gospel*, and is a crying Sin in a Man that is in Holy Orders) then his *Ordinary* upon Complaint and Proof, ought to punish him, and not the People, as too often they do, by departing from his *Ministry*, contrary to *Christ's* Rule, which commanded Attendance on the *Ministry*, of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, although they were *vitious* and *wicked*. And *Christ* gave this Reason for it, *scil.* Because, *they* (the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*) *sate* in *Moses* his *Chair*; *All therefore* (says *Christ*) *whatsoever they bid you observe that observe and do: But do not ye after their Works, for they say, and do not*, *Matth.* 23. 3.

2. *Rebellion*. For from a strong *Belief* of this Position, *scil.* That *Temporal Dominion* is founded in *Grace*, have sprung most, if not all, the *Seditions* and *Rebellions* made against *Christian Princes*, by either *Papists* or *Fanaticks*. It is evident from *History*, that the *Popes* of *Rome* never sent out their *Bulls*, nor ever stirred up *Subjects* unto *Rebellion*, against any secular *Princes* whatever, but only against such, as were by them judged to be *Hereticks*, and void of *Grace*, and therefore not fit to Govern. Nor ever was there either *King*, *Emperor*, or any *Supreme Magistrate* deposed or murder'd by the *Papists*, but it was

was upon Account of the said Prince his want of Grace.

Hence arose the *Spanish* Invasion against *Queen Elizabeth*, the *Gun-Powder Plot* against King *James I.* The *Irish* Rebellion against King *Charles I.* And *Oates* his *Popist* Plot against King *Charles II.* All arose from a Belief, that the aforesaid *Princes* were *Hereticks*, and void of *Grace*, and therefore had no just *Right* unto *Temporal* Dominion.

In like manner, all the before-mentioned Plots of the *Fanaticks*, *cum multis aliis*, took their Rise from this one false *Notion*, scil. That *Temporal* Dominion is founded in *Grace*. And because, they were of Opinion, that the *King* and *Governors* were wicked, *Tyrannical*, and void of *Grace*, that therefore they had no *Right* to *Govern*, but it was lawful for the *Subjects* to depose and destroy them by Force of *Arms*. The Belief of this false *Notion* made the *Fanaticks* to wage War against King *Charles I.* And at last to murder him. To banish King *Charles II.* And afterwards rebelliously to fight against him at *Worcester*. This made *Venner*, and his *Confederates* to draw the *Sword* against the said *King*, under the Pretence of his want of *Grace*, and his being an *Enemy* to King *Jesus*. This made *Stephen Colledge* at *Oxford*, with his *Protestant Flail*; *William Hone*, and his Fellow-*Conspirators*, at *Rye-House* with their *Blunderbusses*, to contrive the Murder of the same Prince, and his illustrious Brother the *Duke of York*. In fine, this very Doctrine excited the Rebellion in the West; in King *James II.* his Time, and gave a Handle to *Monmouth* and his Associates in a hostile Manner, to invade the just Rights of their lawful Sovereign.

For this is the receiv'd Opinion both of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, that seems to be grafted in their very Natures, that although the *King* be truly never so *Orthodox*, *Virtuous*, and *Pious*, yet upon the least

Fal-

Failing, they will clamour and give out, that he is fallen from *Grace*, and therefore ought to be *deposed*, and no longer to have *Dominion* over them ; for according to their *Belief*, *Temporal Dominion* is founded in *Grace*.

3. *A Confirmation of Heathen Kings and Princes in their Infidelity.*

For this pernicious Doctrine, that *Temporal Dominion* is founded in *Grace*, discourages *Heathen*, and unbelieving *Princes* from believing in *Christ*, and from embracing *Christianity*. Because, if they should become *Christians*, then they are not sure to hold their *Crowns* long on their *Heads* ; no, nor their *Heads* long on their *Shoulders*. For, although they should not renounce *Christianity*, nor turn *Heathens* again, yet, if through natural *Infirmity*, or *Prevalency* of *Temptation*, or *Excess* of *Passion*, they should become *vitious* in their *Lives* ; or if through contrary *Perswasion*, they should not believe, as the *Papists* and *Fanaticks* believe, yet, then they must be adjudged to have no *Grace* ; and therefore no *Right of Dominion* over their *Subjects* ; but must be *deposed*, and *dethroned*, for *Temporal Dominion* is (say they) founded only in *Grace*.



FINIS.